

FOREIGN COMMUNIST SUPPORT OF REVOLUTIONARY  
PROTEST MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Note: In accordance with the terms of reference, this report is essentially limited to information provided by Agency sources. It does not include extensive information available from the Federal Bureau of Investigation on all aspects of the subject; from the Department of Defense on draft resistance/deserter matters; or from the National Security Agency. The relative lack of firm Agency-developed information on the subject may either represent the true situation, i.e., the absence of extensive foreign Communist support, or it may be a reflection of a lack of enough well-placed sources.

General

The information collected by this Agency provides evidence of only a very limited amount of foreign Communist assistance to revolutionary protest movements in the United States. There is very little reporting on Communist assistance in the form of funding or training and no evidence of Communist direction or control of any United States revolutionary protest movement. The bulk of our information illustrates Communist encouragement of these movements through propaganda methods and exploitation of international conferences.

For the purposes of this report these movements are defined to include militant Black groups, radical student and youth groups, anti-Vietnam war groups, and draft resistance/deserter groups.

Support given to these movements by Cuba, the USSR, and Communist China is discussed in the following pages.

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# CUBA

Cuban assistance has been provided primarily to Black militants and to radical student groups.

## Aid to Black Militants

Aid to Black militant groups has included:

- a. Providing asylum to militants, the most important of whom is Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party;
- b. Providing sustenance to such militants during their lengthy stays in Cuba; and
- c. Providing alias documentation to selected militants to facilitate their travel abroad.

The Cuban Embassy in Paris has been used as a base for contacting Black militants in Europe, both directly and indirectly, but the purpose of these contacts is not known. The Proensa Latina representative in Paris said in January 1968 that Cuban-supported propaganda outlets would be used to spread Black Power ideas to Black U. S. military and civilian personnel in Europe; the extent of the actual effort since then is not known.

There is one unsubstantiated report that in June 1968 the Cuban intelligence service dispatched an agent to the United States with instructions to encourage American Blacks to defect to Cuba.

Although there was Cuban refugee reporting in 1967 on alleged training in Cuba of American Blacks for subversive operations in the United States, those reports have not been substantiated. Since 1967 at least 15 to 20 Black militants are known to have travelled to Cuba, but details of their activities there are not known. When Stokely Carmichael visited Cuba in 1967 his "interpreter" was a Cuban intelligence service officer who was subsequently assigned to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York.

One American Black militant visited Cuba at Cuban expense in January 1969 to receive an "Heroic Guerrilla" award for winning a Radio Havana contest.

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The Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO), headquartered in Havana and supported by Cuba, mails propaganda to the United States seeking to exploit the racial situation. AALAPSO showed a particularly fast reaction capability after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King.

#### Aid to Radical Students

Cuba has encouraged travel by radical student groups and individuals to Cuba for propaganda and orientation purposes. Good coverage of such travel exists. At least 110 identified American members of Students for a Democratic Society or its affiliates are known to have visited Cuba, at least 55 of them at the expense of the Cuban Government. The bulk of this travel was in 1968. Many U. S. youths and students have applied for visas to visit Cuba this summer, but the Cubans are reportedly denying some of these requests.

#### Deserter Support

The Cuban Embassy in Tokyo provided asylum in April 1967 to a U. S. Army deserter. It permitted him to remain there until March 1968 when he travelled clandestinely to the USSR with the help of the pro-Communist Japan Peace for Vietnam Committee (Beheiren).

#### Aid to Puerto Rican Independence Movement

Two Puerto Ricans were reported to have received guerrilla training in Cuba during 1967 and 1968. This report has not been independently substantiated.

#### USSR

There is no evidence of direct Soviet support to militant Black, radical student, or anti-Vietnam war groups in this country.

In Japan, the Soviet Embassy actively assisted a number of U. S. armed forces deserters to reach safehaven in Sweden via the USSR during 1967-68. In Europe, several Communist

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party front groups and radical leftist groups with Communist party members have aided American deserters and draft resisters, particularly in France, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

A new component of the Chief, Intelligence Directorate of the Soviet General Staff (GRU) was formed in 1968 to oversee the collection of information on insurgent and dissident groups worldwide. Although this represents a significant upgrading of GRU interest in such activity, there is no evidence of any such GRU efforts targeted at the U. S. This GRU component is believed to concentrate instead on the less developed areas of the world. Information available on the operations of the Soviet Committee for State Security (KGB), although not complete, shows no involvement with U. S. revolutionary protest movements.

The Government of Guinea, whose intelligence service is in liaison with the Soviets and which is friendly with the Soviets, is providing safehaven for Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. However, although Carmichael still has contact with radical American Blacks at international conferences and during his other travels, his primary concern now appears to be in forming a united Black African movement.

American Blacks were reportedly being given training in late 1968 in a special camp in Algeria, the Government of which is very friendly with the USSR. This report has not been substantiated, and recent information indicates that the Algerian Government is reluctant to become involved with American Black militants.

#### COMMUNIST CHINA

The only evidence of Chinese Communist support to revolutionary protest movements in the United States, other than propaganda broadcasts, is discussed below.

In 1966, the Black militant Robert Franklin Williams moved to Peking from Havana where he had been granted asylum in 1961 and had been helped in setting up "Radio Free Dixie." Williams has ~~been~~<sup>was</sup> supported in Peking by the Mao regime and ~~has been~~<sup>was</sup> aided in the production of a Black militant periodical, The Crusader. The latter ~~is~~<sup>was</sup> distributed by mail to recipients in a

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

Exploitation of international Communist front conferences is discussed in Attachment A of this report. American representatives of radical groups participate regularly in such conferences, which seek both to mobilize world opinion and to encourage revolutionary protest movements. There is no evidence that these conferences have been used as covers for direct foreign Communist control of domestic movements.

PROPAGANDA

The Communist powers use press and radio propaganda to encourage radical protest movements. Foreign Broadcast Information Service coverage of the propaganda output of Moscow, Peking, Hanoi, and Havana, which affects such movements in the U.S., is analyzed in detail in Attachment B to this report. Appended to Attachment B are selected transcripts of propaganda, separately grouped for each of the four countries.

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SECRET

Soviet propaganda in the future will probably be guided primarily by the 17 June 1969 declaration of the conference of Communist parties. The declaration sets forth the U.S. as the main enemy, and views favorably the opposition of radical U.S. youth and students to the Vietnam war, the draft, racism, and "monopoly control of universities." It expresses strong support for "the struggle of the Negro population of the U.S. for their rights." It urges Communist parties to devote considerable attention to work among students. The CPUSA has enthusiastically endorsed this line. Until the fall of 1968 when the Soviets tried to formulate a more positive approach to the youth movement, Soviet propaganda sought to explain all U.S. protest and unrest in classical Communist terms, and avoided giving publicity to extremist groups. The Soviets were noticeably concerned over the threat of contagion from undisciplined Western youth movements and over the disruptive impact of such groups on orthodox Communist parties.

Havana media publicizes statements and articles by members of the Black Panthers, the Students for a Democratic Society, and such prominent individuals as David Dellinger and Mark Rudd. However, there has been a marked abatement of such propaganda in the past six months as a result of media preoccupation with domestic issues. Cuban broadcasts generally avoid detailed accounts of U.S. student activities, but stress that the rebellion of American youths is symptomatic of the sickness of U.S. life and institutions. The emphasis in youth-targeted propaganda is on Vietnam and Che Guevara-type revolutionary feats.

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